

592 The Batutsi women each occupy her own ruغو with her chil-
595 dren, women servants (abaja), and cattle given by the husband. The
concubines live one or two together in separate huts inside the ruغو of
a legitimate wife.

Occasionally, the Bahutu wives occupy the same hut, but only
for a rather short time.

574 The wife is not required to return occasionally to her parents.
787 However, the auguries may decide that childbirth will be more suc-
cessful in her own family. [27]

7. Rights and Obligations of Husband and Wife

593 According to custom, the husband has the general duty of aid-
ing and assisting his wife (kukamira umugore, lit., to milk [a cow]
for his wife). He must provide her with clothing and ornaments (1).

[301] 1. In the past the husband spent a great
deal to provide his wife with ububutega
(rings made of grasses) which she wore by
the hundred on her legs. This finery
which weighed down the Banyarwanda
woman's figure and interfered with walk-
ing was considered the height of elegance,
for it gave her the gait of cows that are
[481] universally admired in Ruanda.

and nurse her when she is sick. In the same way, a wife who
abandoned her husband when he was ill or in trouble would be dis-
graced.

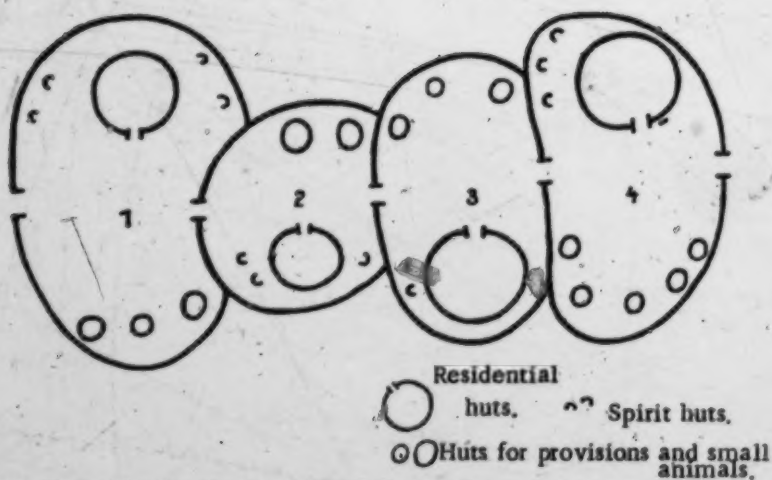
593 Separation of property exists between husband and wife. The
421 wife owns her ruغو, her field, and in addition, among the Batutsi,
563 some inyarulembo cattle (2) and some abagaragu that she received

2. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle,
p. 44.

from her husband.

• 592

[18]



1. Front hut for the master and the cattle.
- 2 and 3. Center huts for women and children.
4. Rear hut for the servants.

Fig. 1. Homestead of a Barundi Lord.
 (Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

[16] quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[11] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

● 592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[895] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

361 The settlement pattern is that of individual establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (lugo, urugo).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(ikisagara) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

964 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. Accord-
 356 ing to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
 342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in
 north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey
 across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in
 the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von
 Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference
 of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of
 houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings,
 and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like
 a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired,
 but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years.
 After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
 429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it,
 and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
 • 592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
 361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village
 often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter
 up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are
 smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse
 of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are
 hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters
 of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batutsi lords, however, are not con-
 592 tent with a single kraal including several huts. They build
 342 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass
 directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living
 and reception room for the master of the house and also as a
 shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women
 and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as
 a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1).
 For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or
 even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common
 Batutsi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings
 or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

357 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important
567 element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither
in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no
longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the
Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all
the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East
Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century,
there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other
areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs
and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa,
and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the
Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women
and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and
even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The pur-
chase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty
Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for
the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the
Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave
auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from
Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote
at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost
all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves
perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive
in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as
the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been
stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl
or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

357 [97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many
597 influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, in-
597 stead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi).
592 Although they are personally free, they have to work for the
master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get
their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives
or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will
offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a
mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he
wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master,
he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many
indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that
most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of
their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
594 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting
flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts.
Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany
him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the
larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high
status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and
often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is
called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists
it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[561] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano)
for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and prop-
erty. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may
atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger pay-
ment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc.
The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge
(p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin
group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their dis-
posal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond
the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be
made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or
sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The
captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom
by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming.

Chapter 2

Familial and Social Organization (continued).

Clans. Family Life and Traditions. Mentality and Psychology.

Character and Temperament of the Africans.

Intelligence, Ability, and Perfectibility of the Blacks.

Africa, the Cradle of the Aurignacian Civilization.

614 The Banyarwanda, whether Batutsi, Bahutu, or Batwa, are grouped into tribes or clans whose names they bear. They lead a patriarchal life. The northwestern regions are those where the concept of the clan has retained all its force and all its importance. The members of a clan pool their interests, their joys, and their revenges.

The exclusiveness of the clans is rigorous. It was in those same regions that the invasion of the Batutsi was opposed most vigorously. One may wonder how this separation into clans originated.

As they evolved, the three ethnic groups, Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, each adopted the name of one or the other of their ancestors in order to be distinguished from other families with the same origin. This caused the parceling of the tribes.

The Basiete, who became Batutsi only recently, claim to be descended from their ancestor Busiete, who was of Mutwa /sing of Batwa/ origin and who was raised to noble rank by Yuhí III Gahindiro.

Among the Batutsi, it is the Banyiginya, Bega, Balejuru, and Bakongori who claim to have come down from heaven.

The clan or tribe is nothing more than the extended lineage.

614
● 592 "The family, thus constituted, did not remain limited to father, mother, children, and servants. . . . It grew larger. The spirit of solidarity which united its various members, strengthened by the necessities of time, keeps the various branches attached to the trunk. The younger brothers and their progeny remain grouped around the eldest, from whom they continue to receive a central guidance."

/45/

614
592 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime
/The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabirow of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabirow rain maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173
614 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:

Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:

Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

417 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall

2. Ibid., p. 460.

surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592
351 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot [372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and decisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a

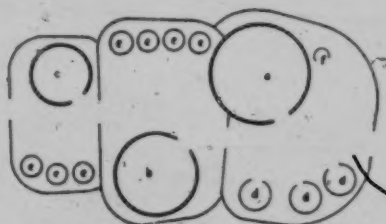


Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

346 The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 171 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G. A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

614 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest
623 has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where
the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their
conquerors.

[643] As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession
of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the
chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no
question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of
231 the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle
he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and
poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is
slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy
the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda
there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively
low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privi-
leged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a
monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying
to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make
individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and per-
mitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for
herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished
the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The
Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have
them tended there when they no longer give milk and the house-
hold can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be
pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having
the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the
mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and
621 the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma,
592 and Bagwabiwo, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near
423 Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.
231

[251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the
clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this
list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

[250]

No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragi	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves
Baishaza of Katebe													
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	„mugabo“
	Nikora	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	1	2	1	3 1/2	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Semivombi	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Semilyanga	Muvuna	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Ndegeye	Mwichezi	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Banitogega	Mukora	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
4.	Mukari	Mwishaza	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Otto	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Sebichikira	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	outside
6.	Matayo	Muhama	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisaga	Muhobio	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhama	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Field of No. 1
12.	Mafara	Munyabigaha	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 12
	Birere	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Brother of No. 1
13.	Ndungutai	Mwishaza	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Field of No. 1
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
	Antigoni	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Fillipo	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
15.	Segikobi	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Children of vagrant wife
	Nderiwamunda	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 1/2	41	28	45	12 persons 1)

1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

No.	Name	Clan	Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)										Banana Groves	[251]
			Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus	Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	2 1/4 + 1	3	4	3	1	„mugabo“
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	—	—	1 1/2	2	2	2	—	
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	1	—	3 1/2 + 1	—	—	—	—	
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1	
	Muchucha	Murashi	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Dirikunzira	Munyakara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Rudigari	„	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Faru	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	2 3/4 + 1	4	4	4	1	„mugabo“
	Mahgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Karabagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	2 + 1/2	2	2	4	1	
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1	
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	2 + 1/2	3	—	3	1	
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	3	1	

10 11 6 14 17 9 12 3 24 22 12 30 7 61 persons 1)

Bagwabihi of Kitebe

1.	Mwneyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	1/2	5	2	4	1	„mugabo“
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1	
3.	Semitesa	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1	
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1	
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1	
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1	
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1/2	—	4	1	

7 14 3 4 14 2 6 1/2 25 7 36 7 41 persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

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614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is
one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

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Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans
were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew,
the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence.
They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which
is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process
is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in
Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from
another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to
serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these
hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders,
for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the
number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land
on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing
goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a
far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who
have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda
642 state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm popu-
lation without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs
with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the popu-
lation in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
642 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

[291] On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of
 [854] cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their
 [482] backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already
 for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists
 or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with
 large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The
 Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other
 flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore
 them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders
 [439] coming from the east where they bought them from Arab mer-
 chants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short
 loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

302 Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few
 tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant
 pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had
 their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu
 [301] and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in
 white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments.
 304 There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening
 of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went
 [291] barefooted.

• 592 The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at
 361 least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular en-
 closure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures
 of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the
 342 interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a
 [191] 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c.
 857 were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls
 513 under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special
 hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut
 343 devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus
 346 hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined
 351 circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the
 compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds
 of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it
 was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures,
 there was only one narrow communication with the outside world.

[231] The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a
 361 kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the
 year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

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2. THE FAMILY

Two basic types of family were to be found in Ruanda: the nuclear family which was the most widespread, and the polygynous family. The Ruanda polygynous family constituted a type of organization fundamentally different from the nuclear family. It was not just a nuclear family with a few more persons, the secondary wives and their children, but a structure composed of several elements, each of them constituting almost a nuclear family from the sexual, economic, procreational, and educational points of view. On the other hand, the polygynous family was not an aggregate of nuclear families because the uniqueness of the husband gave to the various elements a type of integration different from that merely of a sum of nuclear families.

A nuclear family (*rugo*) was composed of a man, his wife, and their children. It could happen that some additional persons lived with them, such as the widowed mother of one of the spouses or an old female relative (old men usually lived by themselves, with the help of a grandson). There could also be a child, a son, or a daughter of the husband's brother or even of the husband's sister (if the bride-wealth had not been given for his sister), or a child of the wife's brother.

Adopted children were also included in the *rugo*. These only be children who had no lineage relatives left. Tutsi children, when adopted by Tutsi, were treated, while they were young, as if they were the adopter's own children; Hutu children if adopted by Tutsi were considered as clients. But adoption did not confer the full status enjoyed by an offspring of the adopter: the ward could marry a descendant of his foster-father. Cases of adoption seem to have been frequent and people appear to have been so eager to adopt that we may suspect that all the advantages were not for the child. The Ruanda highly appreciated all children, and this attitude accounts for the fact that a child was as such always welcomed in a family. Moreover, the man adopting a child expected more material advantages: a girl's marriage brought him the benefit of a new family connexion and boys could be as useful as his sons without having a right to inheritance. Our informants say that most of the boys when grown up fled away, hoping to find some distant relative of their own.

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called

76 THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

594 The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service and their servants had huts in the compound.

595 The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic co-operation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group
554 wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children was almost indispensable for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained
[554] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one
[571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

[p.89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production. 433

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every ^{1.} *ruko* was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production? 592 • [438]

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce. 463 [184] 412

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view. 471

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased. 423

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim

1. *[ruko]*: the basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p. 20 -- analysis 421

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422 Sometimes these rights (bare ownership and usufruct) were possessed by the same person. The cattle concerned were then called *imbata*.²

3. INHERITANCE RULES

768 When the father died, the family unit of which he had been the head did not disappear as well. Some of the family functions had still to be carried on for some time: the younger sons had to be given a wife and the bride-wealth paid for them, the younger daughters had to be married, and perhaps young children had still to be taken care of by their mother for several years. In order that the family unit should be able to perform its tasks before its breakdown, it was necessary that the duties of the *rugô* head should continue to be fulfilled. Consequently the father chose one of his sons who could be trusted with that role (*umutware w'urugo rwa se*: head of his father's family). He was often, but not always, the eldest son of the first wife. The father could even choose a brother or one of his parallel cousins if he thought none of his sons was capable. The father's choice could always be reversed by the lineage head or the political chief or even the lord, if it appeared unwise to these authorities or if it was the cause of complaints from the other members of the family.

593 421 It was the father who was endowed, as we have just seen, with rights to land and cattle. The totality of these rights plus goods such as trees, huts, and household implements, constituted his patrimony.

428 If there was no declaration of will, custom determined the division of the patrimony according to the following rules.

The first heirs were the sons of the deceased, or, failing these, his brothers, then his paternal male parallel cousins, his grandsons, the sons of his brothers and their male paternal parallel cousins, his paternal uncles. Then any male in the *inzu* or the *umulyango*. If there was no known kinsman left, the political authority (land or cattle chief) or the lord was the heir. In that case the patrimony might be divided according to the kind of rights left, for instance those over cattle went to the lord, those over land to the land chief. Or the more powerful authority was able to secure for himself the whole of the inheritance.

² See Vanhove. 1941, pp. 48-59, for still other, but less important, rights over cattle.

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships. [438]

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans. 601

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritance not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his 613 592 543 592 [445] [495] [428]

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592 sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her
 593 heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her
 428 pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their
 [591] father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with
 their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home",
 she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her
 562 brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also
 593 obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater
 authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters,
 of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and
 serfs of her husband.

554 The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the
 562 general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and
 women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and
 inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except
 for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi
 at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior
 is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics.
 Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the
 likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A
 [564] Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided
 the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu
 and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of
 her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that
 of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relation-
 ship, and find his way as well as he can through the social
 labyrinth.

554 Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy
 557 of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex varia-
 578 tions in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant
 efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society
 and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce
 competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may
 [183] risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the
 social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth
 and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and
 power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more
 bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among
 Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats
 quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the
 desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide.

[595] Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as
 bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

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she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside, often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The first one to be married into the household has in principle priority over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.